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At Charleston, in May, 1851, before the Conven-tion of Southern Rights Associations.

ernment. To change established institutions with a view

those who have the control of reason should enand experience. The feelings which I see here manifested do honor to the hearts of those who entertain and express them. They spring from the hearts of intelligent freemen, who, knowing their rights, are willing to make any sacrifice to maintain them. In taking counsel from the highest impulses of their nat are, they are impatient at any suggestion that might interfer to with their free indulgence. The venerable CHEVES-who has been regarded as an adviser of both well calculated to errest your attention. It is one that will command, I am sure, throughout the Southern States a prefound respect. Yet I have seen that paper met with the impatience of the great and almost ancompromising excitement which p revails here; and even with some who have, no doubt, take a their heat from the fires that were kindled

ecially every man who has accepted a seat in this tion, to do his duty, and to give you the convictions of hie deliber sete judgment. No man should avoid respensi-bility by tak mg refuge in watchful silence and prudent neu-

me to remain away and take advantage of the current. I have bee a summoned by my fellow-citizens to mingle in the current an d help to guide it, or be overwhelmed by its viocombark with those who have a common destiny. The fate of the people of South Carolina shall be let what may come, I shall stand or fall with South the fond mother of my birth and my effections. In the advic e and counsels that I may give, I am willing, before

been my fate, for the last five years, to take, as your represe stative, a responsible position in the National Councils of the Confederacy. I have been made to feel the exposure sgling and isolated minority to an arrogant major he vulgar strength of self-sustaining num esorted to all the machinery of a taunting audience and id press to put under the ban the State whose represenwas. I have always had much to sustain me in tryoat a with fifty Senators, or any hazards that might present tofore existed, and ought not to exist. In fact, it will defea

e to do any thing but what is prompted by a solemn duty. It is true that the proceedings of this body will not have the throughout the State all the influence which eloquence, patriotism, and energy can impart. They will have committed advocates to maintain and enforce them.

The address which has been read contains a recital of imposing truths, arrayed with an eloquent sternness which has commanded my admiration and respect. It is both a truthform of speeches and threatening resolutions. The consecuence of the ful and striking statement of wrongs and impending dangers to Southern institutions. Other Southern States cannot condemn it without condemning their own resolutions and solemn pledges. The paper has impressed upon it unmistakable marks of sincerity and deliberate purpose. Its author or authors are ready to stand by it, and make it good in the true import of the terms, "at every hazard, and to the last extremity." By others it may be differently regarded. Some who will give it their sanction may look upon it as a paper of popular agitation only. Some may even regard it as the nucleus of State party, to be used thus far and no farther. I choose to regard it as a solemn beginning, that may result in an important end, that will deeply affect the destinies and interests of this country. And, as my friend from demn it without condemning their own resolutions and solemn

To conclude the proposition, the Tederal Government has become a despotism of an interested majority. You will ask why have not the other Southern States been ready to join ontend with the three great enemies of free States. The joalousy of neighboring States, the gold of Philip be towed on corrupt orators, the combined love of pleasu The Southern States have had some ele

envention to take the step as soon as practicable? I shall now proceed to state my objections respectfully this mode of procedure.

I think, in the first place, that this Convention ought me to take cognizance of so grave a matter at this time, before popular agitation within the State. It will make division monwealth.

I am persuaded that our difference of opinion will, in the end, be more apparent than seal. I may well question the policy of a celerity that may be too much actuated by gallant zeal and uncalculating chivalry. If, with the more prudent resolution of Ulysees, perhaps without its wisdom, I may be disposed to restrain the impetuous courage of Diomede, I shall have none of the resentful temper of Achilles, nor the grumbling censoriousness of Thirsites. No, my countrymen, my heart is too much in the cause you are engaged in to suffer me to do any thing but what is prompted by a solemn duty. separated from their true friends by intimations for which their people were not prepared. Our ancestors made no such advertisement of their purposes as to enable others, opposed to them, to force and defeat them. In general, they were by their acts ahead of their resolves, and never made the latform of speeches and threatening resolutions. The consequence has been that short performances have followed leng advertisements, for the reason that we lost the aid of our true allies. There are now friends in other States willing to do

press. I understand that the articles of commerce that

argo, and, so far as concerns Georgia and North Carehave ports of entry at Augusta and near Charlotte. What then? Could goods pay ten per cent. in Charleston, and forty at these places, in competition with a trade through Savannah and Wilmington paying a duty of thirty or forty per cent.? Octainly not. I will not dwell on this view of the subject any longer, as I do my friends the justice to say that they have a much higher aim—one whose disnity of nurses.

through the flames of the temple to save the palladium. Her fate would not only be self-destruction, but it would be a safate would not only be self-destruction, but it would be a sa-crifice to build up the interests of new rivals.

Those who really look to the end of this beginning take the step with this view—to induce other States, by the pros-perous and successful example of South Carolina, to come into conjunction with her; or to place them in such circum-stances, that, having a common destiny, they would be com-pelled to be involved in making a common sacrifice. I will next notice the first part of the proposition. The latter pre-sents the subject in its great magnitude, not unconnected with considerations of the deepest delicacy. To force a sovereign

State to take a position against its concent, is to make it a reluctant associate. It would be to offend its pride and force its judgment. Is there any evidence that Georgia would be forced to take position with us, under the present juncture of affairs? She will perhaps contend that, having decided for herself, South Carolina must abide the fate of her own decision. Before such a move is made on Georgia something more ought to be made known of the centiments of her necessity. The and distingly date and proposed and applications of the second transport o

her to terms. The Government would resort to the agency and influence of a Macedonian policy. South Carolina would

one whose dignity of purpose the Federal councils to take any part that may be assigned to To move me. Let us adopt the exhortation of Casar at the battle of

GENTLEWEN: I have received the communication you did me the honor to address to me in the Abbeville Banner, and seize the earliest moment to comply with your request that I' should reply through that paper.

You are not mistaken in supposing that a mighty crisis impends over the Southern States. The position of our own beloved State is eminently critical. South Carolina has never had greater need of the wisdom, and valor, and affection o ber sons than at the present moment. Most sincerely do I hope that every man within her borders feels as keen'y as yourselves the deepest solicitude for her honor and her welfare. For one, I am sensible of obligations to her which my poor services can never repay; and I intend to do my duty,

and my whole duty, to her in the present juncture. You inform me that your solicitude for the State induc more ought to be made known of the sentiments of her people, who would not only sympathize with their friends, but ultimately, for their own benefit, come to their support. Nothing of the kind has been attempted. I may be asked if I can give any assurance that Georgia will ever be prepared to leave the content of the series of the serie

to save fifteen hundred millions of property, the most profits. South, ble in the world, and the source of countless blessings to man-kind, from becoming a nuisance and a curse. They are amply secured in the Constitution, and that instrument would

But, lead who may, it is our destiny to never have obtained the approval of South Carolina and other Souther States without such security. But these stipulations and compacts have not been carried out in good faith by the Northern States, but have been violated and utterly disregarded.

Sugar. Let us not may, it is our destiny to act a conspicuous part in the contest when it shall come, and come it will as surely as there is a God. Interest and self-preservation will arouse and unite the States that grow cotton, and rice, and who may, it is our destiny to act a conspicuous part in the contest when it shall come, and come it will as surely as there is a God. Interest and self-preservation will arouse and unite the States that grow cotton, and rice, and who may, it is our destiny to act a conspicuous part in the contest when it shall come, and come it will as surely as there is a God. Interest and self-preservation will arouse and unite the States that grow cotton, and rice, and who may, it is our destiny to act a conspicuous part in the contest when it shall come, and come it will as surely as there is a God. Interest and self-preservation will arouse and unite the States that grow cotton, and rice, and who may, it is our destiny to act a conspicuous part in the contest when it shall come, and come it will as surely as there is a God. Interest and self-preservation will arouse and unite the States that grow cotton, and rice, and who may, it is our destiny to act a conspicuous part in the contest when it shall come, and come it will as surely as there is a God. We complain especially that slaves fleeing to the non-slave- any rashness of ours. Let us not vainly polding States are not delivered to their owners, on their decountries which belong to all the States, and that the subject of slavery itself is made the topic of vehement and mischiev-ous discussion in the Northern States and in Congress. They are well-founded complaints—acts that are palpable violations of the Constitution, and would, in my opinion, any one of them, justify the secession of the Southern States. They impair the security and the value of property in slaves. The experience of eight years of anxious hope and apprehension have brought me to the conclusion that these complaints will never brought me to the conclusion that these complaints will never the contract of the be removed or redressed by any exercise of the means provided by the Constitution. How can South Carolina reform public opinion in Massachusetts or Ohio? By what potent without the loss of character or of self-respect, but such sub mission by nations brings dishonor and degradation. It implies both weakness and pusilanimity, and invites aggression as well as incites contempt. The Federal Government can-not, and would not if it could, constrain these Northern States slaveholding States have the spirit to take their rights under slaves of South Carolina are of infinitely greater value to her nous evils of which we complain, and which I have specified, be redressed by the secession of South Carolina alone, I Would the prospect of recovering fugitive slaves be better They may now be, and now are recovered, summarily and culty of reclaiming them in Georgis, or any other slavehold-ing State, is no greater than it is in the different districts of ities that are enjoyed by its own citizens. They are appropriate and ample. Our only complaint is that the non-slaveholding States not only refuse to aid us, but actually obstruct as in our endeavors to reclaim our property, when accident or crime places it within their limits. They only violate the supulation of the constitution on this subject. These States treaty. Why is it that of the twenty-five thousand fugitive

derstand, that the most absolutely fatal policy that can be pursued in reference to slavery is to confine it within prescribed limits. Thus localized and hemmed in, it must inevitably languish and die. A given area of country will afford lucrative employment to a much more numerous white than colored population, whether it be slave or free population. Slaves are not fitted for many of the avocations of the white man. The slave population of South Carolina increases more man. The stave population of South Carolina increases more rapidly than the white race, and at this time considerably exceeds it. What would be our means of diffusing over new and less populous countries our rapidly increasing stave population, if South Carolina make herself a foreign State by secession? Our slaves may now be carried into any State of secession? Our slaves may now be carried into any State of the Union which has not made the introduction of them unlawful. They may be sold to the citizens of such States, or removed with their owners. The vast and fertile lands of Mis-issippi and Texas offer tempting fields for the slave labor of the old Southern States. Congress has no power to interpose any prohibition or restraint. But Congress has long since, under the special provision of the constitution, made the introduction of slaves from a foreign country into a State of the Union a highly penal offence. The moment, therefore, South Carolina shall second from the Union—the other Southern States remaining in it—that moment it would be a high crime to carry a slave from this State to Georgia, or to any ether State. Such State would have no power to authoany ether State. Such State would have no power to authorize it, the power being in Congress. The boundaries of our own State could never be passed by a slave so long as it should be a foreign State. We have already been excluded from California, and Utah, and New Mexico, by the unconstitutional and unjust legis'ation of Congress, and shall we now permit our own infatuation to exclude us from the rest of the world? Heaven save us from such insanity!

If secession would not place us in a better position for the

civilized countries on earth, beside these Southern States, in leave a vestige of it in either of them. And we must be wise to escape their doom at no distant day. With these conseagainst the views and wishes of all those States that are bound

in a common destiny with us?
I confess, with profound regret, that I can perceive no reason to think that any of our sister States of the South re-gard the peril to slavery as immediate and imminent as we do. I cannot, however, believe that they are less resolved to protect and preserve the domestic institution of the South than ourselves. But, whilst they under-estimate the danger to it from the action of Congress, they hugely magnify the difficulties and the dangers of disunion. Yet they have made issues and conditions connected with it which we must take for granted they will exact from the North. Their demands will not be conceded, and soon, very soon, their "final hope will be flat despair." As God is the judge of my sincerity, I believe this Union and slavery cannot stand together. And, unless we greatly misinterpret the omens, this appalling truth cannot much longer be disguised. It has not yet been realized

ment of this species of property, as well as the means of mak-quent of those who depreceded, if they did not denous inguit profitable and desirable. These conditions are necessary slavery. No; Virginia will never lead the hosts of That great duty, in my

Carolina secedes, she will be sustained by the act or the that our example would not be followed nor our conduct justified by any one of them. They evidently do not regard the past or the present state of things as justifying secession. And I fear they believe that South Carolina, from factious and selfish motives, is endeavoring to involve them in a contest without cause, and would look upon a struggle between the General Government and this State without cause.

South Carolina at the present time, the other So States remaining in the Union, would only aggrave evils of which we justly complain, and would be inexpe-dient and unwise: that in such event force would be at-

they may not be so to any of you-but I am willing to su solved to stand or fall in the public estimation by them, and upon them. In public or in private life I should not feel that to save my native State from the disasters of blind and heed-less counsels. But South Carolina is the home of my affec-

I cannot lay down my pen without this admonition to my staves now in Canada—a country bordering on the United States—one has never been recovered by his owner? Why is Canada a place of refuge for slaves who flee from their owners in the South? It is because it is a foreign country, and the treaties between Great Britain and the United States are silent on the subject. Would not, then, secession be the voluntary abandonment on our part of the right to reclaim fugitive slaves within the limits of all the Southern States and of all other countries? We could not even cross the line of Georgia, Tennessee, or North Carolina, in pursuit of them, by virtue of any right which we should acquire by secession.

We know, as do the enemies of that institution well understand, that the most absolutely fatal policy that can be you would be caressed and coaxed, by kindness and concessions, to return to the Union, I entreat you to discard the vain and unworthy hope. Secession for such a purpose would be a paltry and a miserable trifling with the gravest question of the century. I would scorn with as proud a disdain as you could feel any unmanly speal to your fears. I make no such appeal. I only conjure you to bring home to your own consciousness the realities of this great issue before the sword is drawn. That bright weapon once drawn can never be sheathed without dishonor. Retreat in such a contest would be as disastrous, and infinitely more disgraceful, than defeat. Either would be irretrievable ruin. Then, be wise, be resolved, be ready before you strike! I have not a wise, be resolved, be ready before you strike! I have not a purpose, or a hope, or a wish that is not inseparably connected with the destiny of South Carolins, and, with the
help of God, her destiny shall be my destiny.

I am, gentlemen, with great respect, your obedient and
humble servant.

ARMISTEAD BURT.

To Capt. Thomas B. BYRD and others. THE COSDEN MURDERERS DISCOVERED.

We learn from a gentleman who came up yesterday after-

noon from Chestertown, that the full particulars of this most brutal murder have at length been developed, and that the

now permit our own infatuation to exclude us from the rest of the world? Heaven save us from such insanity!

If secession would not place us in a better position for the recovery of fugitive slaves, or for spreading our slave population over other countries, but would interpose insurmountable obstacles to both, would it invest us with more effectual means of repressing the fanaticism of the Northern States? I am incompable of perceising any such effect. No, gentlemen, nor; it will require the resources and energies of more than one of the slaveholding States to quiet this wicked agitation, or to resist its fatal influence. The strongest Governments in christendom, France, and Sweden, and Great Britain, deen the country of the slaveholding states to quiet this wicked agitation, or to resist its fatal influence. The strongest Governments in christendom, France, and Sweden, and Great Britain, deen the country of this demon. The Spanish West India islands and Brezil are now the only posed to the murder. It will be seen that the statement of posed to the murder. It will be seen that the statement of Shaw corroborates most of the facts alleged by Drummond, now in jail, although that individual varied his statements in regard to the details so much that his confession could hardly be credited. Drammond was not one of the party engaged in the murder, as he has always strenuously asserted, and Shaw entirely acquite him of all participation.

[Baltimore American of yesterday.

FOREIGN ITEMS.

The French Legitimists continue to flock to Venice to pay somage to the Duc de Bordeaux.

The turnip in Russia is eaten as fruit by all classes. In the houses of the nobles sliced turnip, with brandy, is offered the guests.

The celebrated Geneva watches come out in great force at the World's Exhibition. There are watches for the deaf and blind; a watch which runs with one winding three hundred

cannot much longer be disguised. It has not yet been realized by the North or the South.

You seem, gentlemen, to be amazed at the course pursued by Virginia. It has not struck me with either surprise or dismay. I know you are taught, by more than one of our statesmen, to look to this venerable State for counsel and for lead. But I never supposed she was to be the standard bearer of the South in a contest for slavery. That great Commonwealth did much to rebuke the usurpations of the General Government in former days, but what has she ever done to rebuke fanaticism? The great leader in the memorable contest of 1798 was one of the earliest and most election of deadly wespons. Among others are a pair of rapiers of Toledo manufacture. One of them, as to handle and sheath, is fashioned into the shape of a silver serpent. When sheathed it forms a complete circle, but when drawn the exquisite temper of the South in a contest for slavery. That great Commonwealth did much to rebuke the usurpations of the General Government in former days, but what has she ever done to rebuke fanaticism? The great leader in the memorable contest of 1798 was one of the earliest and most election of deadly wespons. Among others are a pair of rapiers of Toledo manufacture. One of them, as to handle and sheath, is fashioned into the shape of a silver serpent. When sheathed it forms a complete circle, but when drawn the exquisite temper of the South in a complete circle, but when drawn the exquisite temper of the South in a complete circle, but when drawn the exquisite temper of the steel causes it to straighten at once. Some pairs of Cellini. Splendid specimens of Spanis' embroidery are shown, on seeing which, it is said that ladies who work in Berlin wool and crocket may throw away their needles and hooks in despair.